U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
National Technical Information Service

U.I.C.C.
FEB 16 1977
LIBRARY

CMP-SPRCM-76-37

U.S. CONSULATE GENERAL. HONG KONG.

SELECTIONS FROM PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA MAGAZINES

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL
HONG KONG, B.C.C.

NOVEMBER 1976

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023

https://archive.org/details/selections-from-prc-magazines_1976-11_37

中华人民共和国杂志选译

CMP-SPRCM-76-37

Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines

American Consulate General
Hong Kong

No. 900
November 29, 1976

This edition is printed in the United States of America for dissemination in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, the Mediterranean, and the west coast of Africa from material produced by the American Consulate General, Hong Kong. All queries concerning this edition should be sent to:

National Technical Information
Service (152.12)
U.S. Department of Commerce
Springfield, Virginia 22151

TABLE OF CONTENTS

(Hung-ch'i, No. 11, November 1, 1976)

Page

Decision on Establishment of Memorial Hall for Great Leader and Teacher Chairman Mao Tse-tung - adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, the State Council of the People's Republic of China, and the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (p. 11) 3

Decision of Central Committee of Communist Party of China on Publication of Selected Works of Mao Tsetung and Preparations for Publication Of Collected Works of Mao Tsetung (p. 12) 4

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

PRICES SUBJECT TO CHANGE

Page

Common Aspiration of Hundreds of Millions of People - Editorial by Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i and Chieh-fang-chün Pao (p. 14) 6

Comrade Wu Teh's Speech at Celebration Rally in Chinese Capital (p. 17) 9

Great, Historic Victory - Editorial of Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i and Chieh-fang-chün Pao (p. 22) 14

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng Is Our Party's Worthy Leader - by Editorial Department of Chieh-fang-chün Pao (p. 27) . . 20

Adhere to "Three Dos and Three Don'ts" and Thoroughly Smash the "Gang of Four" (p. 31) 23

Criticize the "Gang of Four" Relentlessly, Win Victories in Both Revolution and Production (p. 36) 29

Vow to Defend to the Death the Party Central Committee Headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng (p. 40) 34

What Does the Attempt of the "Gang of Four" to Suppress the Film "Pioneers" Show? - by Hung Kuang-szu (p. 43) 38

An Out-and-Out Old Capitulationist - by Jen P'ing (p. 47) 43

The Foreign Concewsion in March - by Lu Hsün (p. 50) 47

Three Revolutionary Songs (p. 53)

The Internationale 51

The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention 52

The East Is Red 53

* * *

Quotations from Chairman Mao

The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party.

The theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.

Chairman Mao wrote to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng in his own handwriting, "With you in charge, I'm at ease."

Unite to win still greater victories!

Never forget class struggle.

You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road.

Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire. Don't function as a gang of four, don't do it any more, why do you keep doing it?"

Don't form a faction. Those who do will fall.

Our Party already has a history of 50 years and has gone through ten major struggles on the question of Party line. There were people in these ten struggles who wanted to split our Party, but none were able to do so. This is a question worth studying: such a big country, such a large population, yet no split. The only explanation is that the people, the Party and the entire Party membership are of one mind in opposing a split. In view of its history, this Party of ours has a great future.

Read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism.

Grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war.

Chairman Mao's directive on the film "Pioneers" reads: "There is no big error in this film. Suggest that it be approved for distribution. Don't nitpick. And to list as many as ten accusations against it is going too far. It hampers the adjustment of the Party's current policy on literature and art."

* * *

Decision on Establishment of Memorial Hall for Great Leader and Teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung

Adopted by

the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,
the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China,
the State Council of the People's Republic of China, and
the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

(October 8, 1976)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 11, Nov. 1, 1976)

In order to perpetuate the memory of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great leader of our Party, our army and the people of all the nationalities of our country and the great teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people, and to educate and inspire the workers, peasants, soldiers and other labouring people to carry out Chairman Mao's behests, uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought and carry the cause of proletarian revolution through to the end, it is hereby decided:

(1) A memorial hall for the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung will be established in the capital, Peking.

(2) Upon the completion of the memorial hall, the crystal sarcophagus containing the body of Chairman Mao Tsetung will be placed in the hall so that the broad masses of the people will be able to pay respects to his remains.

Decision of Central Committee of Communist Party of China on Publication of Selected Works of Mao Tsetung and Preparations for Publication of Collected Works of Mao Tsetung

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 11, Nov. 1, 1976)

in the past half century and more, the great leader and teacher chairman mao tsetung, basing himself on the principle of integrating the universal truth of marxism-leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution, inherited, defended and developed marxism-leninism in all respects and enriched the treasure house of marxist theory in the course of leading china in the great struggle to accomplish the new-democratic revolution and carry out the socialist revolution and socialist construction, in the great struggle against the right and "left" opportunist lines within the party and in the great struggle against imperialism, against modern revisionism with the soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core and against the reactionaries of all countries. chairman mao's works are immortal marxist-leninist documents. the publication of these works is of great immediate importance and far-reaching historic significance for the people of all nationalities of our country in carrying out chairman mao's behests and carrying through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause, for the cause of liberation of the proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over. the publication will be a great event in the annals of the development of marxism and we must exert ourselves seriously and earnestly and carry it out well. the central committee of the communist party of china hereby decides:

(1) volume five of the "selected works of mao tsetung" will be published at the soonest possible date, with other volumes to follow. while the selected works are being published, active preparations are to be made for the publication of the "collected works of mao tsetung".

(2) the work on the publication of the "selected works of mao tsetung" and the "collected works of mao tsetung" will be put under the direct leadership of the c.p.c. central committee political bureau headed by comrade hua kuo-feng, under which a committee for the editing and publication of the works of chairman mao tsetung will take charge of the work of compiling, editing and publishing.

(3) the general office of the central committee of the communist party of china will be responsible for the collecting and keeping of all the manuscripts of

chairman mao's works.

the central committee enjoins the party committees at all levels to send to the general office of the central committee as soon as possible all manuscripts of chairman mao's, including the original scripts of articles, documents, telegrams, written directives, letters, poems and inscriptions, and the original minutes of chairman mao's speeches kept in the localities and units. the general office of the central committee should make duplicate copies and send them to the units or persons that have provided the originals, for their own keeping.

the c.p.c. central committee calls on the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to start a new upsurge in studying works of marx, engels, lenin and stalin and of chairman mao and energetically help collect the originals of chairman mao's writings. it hopes that the marxist-leninist parties and organizations and progressive organizations and friendly personages of various countries will give their help to make a success of the work of collecting the original scripts of chairman mao's writings.

the central committee of the
communist party of china

october 8, 1976

Common Aspiration of Hundreds of Millions of People

Editorial by

Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i and
Chieh-fang-chün Pao

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 11, Nov. 1, 1976)

---

while our whole party, whole army and the people throughout our country are deeply mourning chairman mao and are determined to carry out chairman mao's behests and continue our triumphant advance along chairman mao's revolutionary line, the central committee of the communist party of china, the standing committee of the national people's congress, the state council and the c.p.c. central committee military commission made public the decision on the establishment of a memorial hall for the great leader and teacher chairman mao tsetung and the c.p.c. central committee made public the decision on the publication of the "selected works of mao tsetung" and preparations for the publication of the "collected works of mao tsetung". the two important decisions are major events in the political life of the chinese people and in both the annals of the development of marxism and of the international communist movement. they are of tremendous political importance and far-reaching historic significance.

chairman mao was the great leader of our party, our army and the people of all nationalities of our country and the great teacher of the international proletariat and oppressed nations and oppressed people. he is the never-setting red sun in our hearts. the brilliance of chairman mao will always be a source of tremendous strength to inspire us in our advance. the leading central organs decided to establish a memorial hall for the great leader and teacher chairman mao tsetung in the chinese capital, peking, so that people for generations will be able to pay their respects to chairman mao's remains, honour the memory of his magnificent contributions and review his teachings to inspire their revolutionary fighting will. this is the common aspiration of the eight hundred million chinese people. it is also the common aspiration of the revolutionary people the world over.

chairman mao was the greatest marxist of the contemporary era. he inherited, defended and developed marxism-leninism in all aspects in the course of leading china in the great struggle to accomplish the new-democratic revolution and carry out the socialist

revolution and socialist construction, in the great struggle against the right and "left" opportunist lines within the party and in the great struggle against imperialism, against modern revisionism with the soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core and against the reactionaries of all countries. chairman mao's works are a scientific summing-up of the experience of the proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people in their revolutionary struggles; they are our inexhaustible ideological treasure-house. the central committee of the communist party of china decided to publish the "selected works of mao tsetung" and to make preparations for the publication of the "collected works of mao tsetung". this is an immense education and inspiration to our whole party, whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country in carrying out chairman mao's behests and carrying the proletarian revolutionary cause through to the end. we must actively respond to the call of the party central committee to start a new upsurge in studying the works of marx, engels, lenin and stalin and of chairman mao, strive to raise our marxist theoretical level, implement more consciously chairman mao's revolutionary line and policies, persevere in combating and preventing revisionism and make a still better job of all socialist undertakings.

mao tsetung thought developed in the course of struggle against class enemies at home and abroad and in struggle against right and "left" opportunist lines within the party. a deep understanding and grasp of mao tsetung thought requires that it be studied and applied in the course of struggle. at present, we should conscientiously study chairman mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, study his series of important instructions on the struggle to criticize teng hsiao-ping and repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, deepen the criticism of teng hsiao-ping and continue to beat back the right deviationist attempt. it is imperative to study chairman mao's teaching "(boldface begins) practise marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire (boldface ends)", and wage resolute struggles against all statements and actions that are contrary to these three basic principles. our party was founded by chairman mao himself and has been long-tempered

in the flames of class struggle and two-line struggle, and it is a great, glorious and correct party. historical experience shows that it has never been easy to try to crush our party. anyone who betrays marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought and tampers with chairman mao's directives, and anyone who practises revisionism and splittism and engages in conspiracies is bound to fail.

(boldface begins) the force at the core leading our cause forward is the chinese communist party. (boldface ends) we must rally most closely round the party central committee headed by comrade hua kuo-feng, uphold the unity and unification of the party, strengthen the sense of organization and discipline, obey the party central committee in all our actions, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidate and develop the gains of the great proletarian cultural revolution, grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war, strive for still greater victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

Comrade Wu Teh's Speech at Celebration Rally in Chinese Capital

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 11, Nov. 1, 1976)

(NCNA Peking, October 24, 1976) following is the full text of the speech by wu teh, member of the political bureau of the central committee of the communist party of china, first secretary of the c.p.c. peking municipal committee and chairman of the peking municipal revolutionary committee, at the celebration rally held by one million armymen and people in the chinese capital today:

comrades and friends:

representatives of the party, government and army organizations and of the workers, peasants, soldiers and people of other walks of life in the capital are holding a grand rally here today in warm celebration of comrade hua kuo-feng's assuming the posts of chairman of the central committee of the communist party of china and chairman of the c.p.c. central committee military commission, and in warm celebration of the great victory won by our party in shattering the scheme of the anti-party clique of wang hung-wen, chang chun-chiao, chiang ching and yao wen-yuan to usurp party and state power. in the past few days, the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country have been rejoicing from the bottom of their hearts, and the whole country has been a scene of jubilation. people in their hundreds of millions have taken to the streets and warmly celebrated this great victory of decisive significance won by the proletariat in repulsing the attacks of the bourgeoisie.

we lost our great leader and teacher chairman mao tsetung one and a half months ago. the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country were plunged into tremendous grief, and they were anxious about the destiny and future of the party and the state, and anxious about whether the central committee of our party could carry out chairman mao's behests, keep to the basic line and policies which chairman mao had formulated for our party, and carry the proletarian revolutionary cause through to the end. the international proletariat and the revolutionary people in various countries, too, were concerned about this. such anxiety and concern were not without foundation. at that time there was indeed a dark cloud in the sky

over our country. while chairman mao was seriously ill and after he passed away, the anti-party clique of wang hung-wen, chang chun-chiao, chiang ching and yao wen-yuan hastily seized the opportunities and attempted to usurp top party and state leadership. we were confronted with the real danger of our party turning revisionist and our country changing its political colour. our party was in a moment of grave difficulty. in this life-and-death struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, our party has emerged triumphant, the proletariat has emerged triumphant, and the people have emerged triumphant excl.

we firmly support the october 7, 1976, resolution of the central committee of the communist party of china on the appointment of comrade hua kuo-feng as chairman of the central committee of the communist party of china and chairman of the military commission of the c.p.c. central committee. comrade hua kuo-feng was selected by our great leader chairman mao himself as his successor. chairman mao personally proposed comrade hua kuo-feng for the posts of first vice-chairman of the c.p.c. central committee and premier of the state council in april 1976. then, on april 30, chairman mao wrote to comrade hua kuo-feng in his own handwriting, "(boldface begins) with you in charge, i'm at ease (boldface ends)", which expressed his boundless trust in comrade hua kuo-feng. at the critical moment of the chinese revolution after chairman mao passed away, the party central committee headed by comrade hua kuo-feng took resolute measures to expose the anti-party clique of wang hung-wen, chang chun-chiao, chiang ching and yao wen-yuan, thus saving the revolution and the party, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and enabling our party, our army and the people of all nationalities of our country to continue their victorious advance along the socialist and communist course charted by chairman mao. the party central committee headed by comrade hua kuo-feng has won the whole-hearted affection and warm support of the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. the course of events in the struggle shows what a wise decision chairman mao made. the cause of chairman mao has a worthy successor and our party once again has a leader of its own in chairman hua kuo-feng.

we warmly hail the great victory of our party in defeating the anti-party clique of wang hung-wen, chang chun-chiao, chiang ching and yao wen-yuan. this anti-party clique refused to heed what chairman mao

said, wantonly tampered with marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought, opposed chairman mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and practised revisionism in the guise of marxism. they formed a "gang of four" and carried out sectarian activities to split the party. they plotted and conspired tirelessly to overthrow a large number of leading comrades in the party, government and army at the central and local levels and usurp party and state leadership. during the period when chairman mao was seriously ill and after he passed away, they launched even more frantic attacks on the party, in a hasty attempt to usurp the supreme leadership of the party and state. they worshipped things foreign, fawned on foreigners and maintained illicit foreign relations, engaging in flagrant activities of capitulationism and national betrayal. the essence of their line is outright betrayal of marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought -- internally, changing the proletarian nature of our party, subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and restoring capitalism and, externally, renouncing the principles of proletarian internationalism and capitulating to imperialism. chairman mao pointed out: "(boldface begins) you are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. it is right in the communist party -- those in power taking the capitalist road. the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road. (boldface ends)" the actions of the wang-chang-chiang-yao anti-party clique prove that they are typical representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the party, unrepentant capitalist-roaders still travelling on the capitalist road and a gang of bourgeois conspirators and careerists. our party's struggle against the wang-chang-chiang-yao anti-party clique is a life-and-death struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, by socialism against capitalism, and by marxism against revisionism. the anti-party clique was only daydreaming when it attempted to split our party. having lost all popular sympathy, they were extremely isolated and feeble. the party central committee headed by comrade hua kuo-feng, carrying out chairman mao's behest, promptly and resolutely exposed the scheme of the wang-chang-chiang-yao anti-party clique to usurp party and state power. this shows that our party is worthy of its reputation as a party founded, tempered and nurtured by chairman mao himself, as a politically mature marxist-leninist party, and as a great, glorious and correct party. the victory of the struggle against the wang-chang-chiang-yao anti-party clique is

a tremendous victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution and for mao tsetung thought. the victory of this struggle is of great immediate importance and far-reaching historic significance for us in upholding the basic line and policies formulated for the party by chairman mao for the entire historical period of socialism, and carrying the proletarian revolutionary cause through to the end, in combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism, and in upholding the principles of proletarian internationalism, firmly implementing chairman mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, and uniting with the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries, particularly the people of the third world countries, for common struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction and, in particular, against the hegemonism of the two superpowers -- the soviet union and the united states.

we must rally most closely round the party central committee headed by chairman hua kuo-feng, carry out chairman mao's behests, hold aloft the great red banner of marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought, adhere to the party's basic line, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and start a new upsurge in studying works by marx, engels, lenin and stalin and by chairman mao. we must thoroughly expose and repudiate the anti-party clique of wang hung-wen, chang chun-chiao, chiang ching and yao wen-yuan, continue to criticize teng hsiao-ping and repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, consolidate and develop the victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution, consolidate and develop the great unity of the people of all nationalities under the leadership of the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. we must take class struggle as the key link, (boldface begins) grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war (boldface ends), and continue to develop the excellent situation. though there will still be difficulties and twists and turns on our road forward, we firmly believe that the future is bright. under the leadership of the party central committee headed by chairman hua kuo-feng, we will certainly be able to unite with all those forces that can be united with, bring all positive factors into play and do still

better in our socialist revolution and socialist construction. (boldface begins) unite to win still greater victories excl. (boldface ends)

long live the great, glorious and correct communist party of china excl.

long live invincible marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought excl.

Great, Historic Victory

Editorial of

Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i and
Chieh-fang-chün Pao

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 11, Nov. 1, 1976)

red flags are flying over the mountains and rivers, everywhere in the motherland, and the faces of our eight hundred million people glow with joy. hundreds of millions of people in all parts of our country have held mammoth demonstrations in the past few days. one million armymen and civilians yesterday met in a grand rally in peking, the capital. they warmly celebrated comrade hua kuo-feng's assuming the posts of chairman of the central committee of the communist party of china and chairman of the c.p.c. central committee military commission, hailed the great victory in smashing the plot of the anti-party clique of wang hung-wen, chang chun-chiao, chiang ching and yao wen-yuan to usurp party and state power, and denounced with great indignation the vile crimes of the "gang of four". the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country are determined to rally most closely round the party central committee headed by chairman hua kuo-feng, carry out chairman mao's behests, and carry the proletarian revolutionary cause through to the end.

comrade hua kuo-feng was selected by the great leader chairman mao himself to be his successor. chairman mao proposed comrade hua kuo-feng for the posts of first vice-chairman of the central committee of the communist party of china and premier of the state council in april 1976. then, on april 30, chairman mao wrote to comrade hua kuo-feng in his own handwriting "(boldface begins) with you in charge, i'm at ease (boldface ends)". in accordance with the arrangements chairman mao made before he passed away, a resolution of the central committee of the chinese communist party was adopted on october 7, 1976, appointing comrade hua kuo-feng chairman of the central committee of the communist party of china and chairman of the military commission of the c.p.c. central committee. this represents the common aspiration of the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country and was a great victory in smashing the plot of the "gang of four"

to usurp party and state power. it was a joyous event of immense historic significance. comrade hua kuo-feng, in whom chairman mao had boundless faith and whom the people throughout the country deeply love, is now the leader of our party, and our party and state have a reliable helmsman to continue our victorious advance along chairman mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

the party central committee headed by comrade hua kuo-feng crushed the plot of the "gang of four" for a counter-revolutionary restoration and got rid of a big evil in our party. wang-chang-chiang-yao had long formed a cabal engaged in factional activities to split the party. the great leader chairman mao was aware of this long ago and severely criticized and educated them again and again. and he made some arrangements for solving this problem. chairman mao criticized them on july 17, 1974, saying, "(boldface begins) you'd better take care; don't form a small faction of four people. (boldface ends)" chairman mao criticized them again on december 24 of the same year. he said, "(boldface begins) don't form a faction. those who do will fail. (boldface ends)" in november and december of the same year, as the leading central organs were preparing to convene the fourth national people's congress, chairman mao said: "(boldface begins) chiang ching has wild ambitions. she wants wang hung-wen to be chairman of the standing committee of the national people's congress and herself to become chairman of the party central committee. (boldface ends)" on may 3, 1975, at a meeting of the political bureau of the party central committee, chairman mao reiterated the basic principles of "three dos and three don'ts", and warned them: "(boldface begins) practise marxism-leninism, and not revisionism; unite and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire. don't function as a gang of four, don't do it any more, why do you keep doing it? (boldface ends)" that very day chairman mao, on this question, gave the instruction that "(boldface begins) if this is not settled in the first half of this year, it should be settled in the second half; if not this year, then next year; if not next, then the year after. (boldface ends)" toward chairman mao's criticism and education, the "gang of four" took the attitude of counter-revolutionary double-dealers who comply in public but oppose in private. not only did they not show the slightest sign of repentance, but on the contrary

they went from bad to worse, further and further down the wrong path. during the period when chairman mao was seriously ill and after he passed away, their attacks on the party became more frantic and their attempts to usurp the supreme leadership of the party and state became more hurried. we faced a grave danger of the party turning revisionist and the state changing colour. at this critical moment in the chinese revolution, the party central committee headed by comrade hua kuo-feng, representing the fundamental interests and common aspiration of the whole party, the whole army and the whole people and with the boldness of vision of the proletariat, adopted resolute measures against the anti-party "gang of four", smashed their plot to usurp party and state power, and saved the revolution and the party. thus the proletariat won a decisive victory in countering the attack of the bourgeoisie.

the "gang of four", a bane to the country and the people, committed heinous crimes. they completely betrayed the basic principles of "three dos and three don'ts" that chairman mao earnestly taught, wantonly tampered with marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought, tampered with chairman mao's directives, opposed chairman mao's proletarian revolutionary line on a whole series of domestic and international questions, and practised revisionism under the signboard of marxism. they carried out criminal activities to split the party, working as a unit, going their own way, establishing their own system inside the party, doing as they wished, lording it over others, and placing themselves above chairman mao and the party central committee. they were busy making intrigues and conspiracies and put their nose into everything everywhere to stir up trouble, interfere with chairman mao's revolutionary line and strategic plans and undermine the socialist revolution and socialist construction. they confounded right and wrong, made rumours, worked in a big way to create counter-revolutionary opinion, fabricated accusations against others and labelled everybody, and attempted to overthrow a large number of leading party, government and army comrades in the central organs and various localities and seize party and state leadership. they worshipped things foreign and fawned on foreigners, maintained illicit foreign relationship, betrayed important party and state secrets, and unscrupulously practised capitulationism and national betrayal. resorting to various manoeuvres, they pursued a counter-revolutionary

revisionist line, an ultra-right line. chairman mao pointed out: "(boldface begins) you are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. it is right in the communist party -- those in power taking the capitalist road. the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road. (boldface ends)" wang hung-wen, chang chun-chiao, chiang ching and yao wen-yuan are typical representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the party, unrepentant capitalist-roaders still travelling on the capitalist road and a gang of bourgeois conspirators and careerists.

our struggle against the "gang of four" is a life-and-death struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. by forming a narrow self-seeking clique to usurp party and state power, the "gang of four" sought to change completely the proletarian nature of our party, change its basic line for the entire historical period of socialism and restore capitalism in china. if their scheme had succeeded, it would have meant serious disaster for the chinese people. the crushing of this anti-party clique has rid the party of a hidden danger, rid the country of pests and redressed the grievances of the people, much to the satisfaction of the party, the army and the people. this is a great example of the application of chairman mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. it is of tremendous immediate importance and far-reaching historic significance for our adhering to the party's basic line, combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing the restoration of capitalism, building socialism, upholding the principle of proletarian internationalism and carrying out chairman mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs. it is an immense victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution and for mao tsetung thought.

chairman mao pointed out in 1971: "(boldface begins) our party already has a history of 50 years and has gone through ten major struggles on the question of party line. there were people in these ten struggles who wanted to split our party, but none were able to do so. this is a question worth studying: such a big country, such a large population, yet no split. the only explanation is that the people, the party and the entire party membership are of one mind in opposing

a split. in view of its history, this party of ours has a great future. (boldface ends)"

summing up our party's experience in the ten struggles on the question of party line, chairman mao pointed out that "(boldface begins) the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything (boldface ends)" and put forward the three basic principles "(boldface begins) practise marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire. (boldface ends)" these principles are our criteria for distinguishing correct from erroneous lines and our powerful weapon for discovering the bourgeoisie inside the party. the whole history of our party shows that only by adhering to the three basic principles can our party march in step, win wholehearted support from the masses of the people and organize a mighty revolutionary contingent, and only by so doing can our revolutionary cause thrive. to go against the three basic principles is to betray the cause of proletarian revolution and the vital interests of the party and the people; anyone who does this inevitably loses the confidence of the people and brings ruin and shame upon himself. on ten occasions in the past, the chieftains of opportunist lines tried to split our party, but they all failed. the present wang-chang-chiang-yao anti-party "gang of four", too, has come to an ignominious end because it practised revisionism and splittism, engaged in conspiracies to usurp party and state power, and thus completely forfeited the confidence of the people and became extremely isolated. history has time and again shown the fact that it is far from easy to crush our party. our party is worthy of its reputation as a party founded, tempered and nurtured by chairman mao himself, as a politically mature marxist-leninist party and as a great, glorious and correct party.

while acclaiming our party's great historic victory, the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, under the leadership of the party central committee headed by chairman hua kuo-feng, are determined to hold high the great red banner of marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought, persist in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the party's basic line and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. we must thoroughly expose the vile

crimes of the wang-chang-chiang-yao anti-party clique, penetratingly criticize their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and eradicate its poisonous influence. it is imperative to draw a strict distinction between the two different types of contradictions and handle them correctly, earnestly implement chairman mao's principles "(boldface begins) learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient (boldface ends)" and "(boldface begins) help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack (boldface ends)", so as to unite with all those that can be united with. we should continue to criticize teng hsiao-ping and repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts. we should enthusiastically support new socialist things, consciously restrict bourgeois right and consolidate and develop the gains of the great proletarian cultural revolution. we should (boldface begins) grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war (boldface ends), go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, and continue to develop the excellent situation.

having eliminated the "four pests", our party has become even more united, even stronger and even more vigorous, and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is more consolidated. the masses of the people are in high spirits and militant; everywhere in our motherland, orioles sing and swallows dart. before us arises "(boldface begins) a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness (boldface ends)". since we have such a great party, army and people, no difficulty whatsoever can stop our triumphant advance. under the leadership of the party central committee headed by chairman hua kuo-feng, we are able to continue our advance in the socialist revolution in accordance with chairman mao's line and policies and, in accordance with the grand plan chairman mao mapped out, accomplish the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology and build china into a powerful socialist country before the end of the century, so as to make a greater contribution to humanity and work for the final realization of communism.

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng Is Our Party's Worthy Leader

by

Editorial Department of Chieh-fang-chün Pao

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 11, Nov. 1, 1976)

The East Wind sweeps ten thousand li and red flags flutter; the 800 million people are all jubilant.

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, dressed in a green army uniform, stood on the rostrum atop magnificent Tien An Men Gate. Armymen and civilians in their hudnreds of millions across the country heartily cheered and sang at the top of their voice. They cheered because the great Communist Party of China again has a leader of its own and sang because the great Chinese People's Liberation Army again has a supreme commander of its own.

While the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao was seriously ill and after his passing, the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, Chiang Ch'ing and Yao Wen-yüan stepped up its moves to usurp Party and state power. We were confronted with the real danger of our Party turning revisionist and our country changing its political color. At this grave historical juncture, the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, with the boldness and vision of proletarian revolutionaries, shattered at one stroke the criminal plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power, thus saving the revolution and the Party and winning a victory of decisive significance for the proletariat in its counterattack against the onslaught of the bourgeoisie. By leading our Party from danger to safety through tempestuous storms, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng averted a major regression in Chinese history and a great disaster for our people, thereby winning the complete trust and wholehearted affection of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng is indeed a worthy successor selected by Chairman Mao himself, a worthy helmsman to steer Chairman Mao's cause forward, and a worthy wise leader of the Communist Party of China founded by Chairman Mao.

In this life-and-death struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, it is of extremely great immediate importance to review Lenin's theory of the relations between leaders, political parties, classes and the masses. Marxism-Leninism holds that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." The making of history by the people implies affirming the role of leaders who represent their interests and will and the role of the people in their millions. The masses are divided into classes; classes usually are led by political parties; political parties, as a rule, are directed by more or less stable groups composed of the most authoritative, influential and experienced members who are elected to the most important positions and are called leaders. In order to become a genuine battle headquarters for the proletariat, a proletarian revolutionary party must have leaders who have come to the fore in class struggle and in the revolutionary movements of the masses, who are loyal to the masses and maintain flesh-and-blood ties with them and who are good at concentrating their ideas, persevering in them and carrying them

through. Such leaders are generally acknowledged by the masses and are genuine representatives of the proletariat. The presence of such leaders in a proletarian party is a manifestation of its political maturity and the hope for the triumph of the proletarian cause. Without such leaders, "the dictatorship of the proletariat, and its 'unity of will,' remain a phrase." (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 32, p. 505) Negating the leadership roles of the Party and its leaders "means completely disarming the proletariat to the advantage of the bourgeoisie..... will inevitably cause any revolutionary movement of the proletariat to fail." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 4, p. 200) The great victory won by the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng in smashing the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power once more eloquently testifies to the uncontested correctness of the above Marxist-Leninist thesis; it is proof of the great role of Party leaders at critical turning points in history.

Great revolutionary struggles produce great persons. Leaders of a proletarian party are recognized by the masses in the course of struggle and practice; they are not self-appointed. The leading role of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao in the whole Party was established in the course of the great struggle of the Chinese revolution, through revolutionary storms and after overcoming many difficulties and hazards, and was acknowledged by the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Summing up both the positive and negative experiences of the Chinese revolution and the international communist movement, Chairman Mao put forward the five requirements for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and, in the acute struggle between the two lines within the Party, personally selected Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to succeed him as the leader of our Party. The period in which Comrade Hua Kuo-feng became First Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of State Council was the most difficult period since the founding of New China because of serious natural disasters and because the "four pests" were rampant. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng withstood the adverse current, did away with interference, overcame difficulties and correctly and appropriately handled a series of important domestic and international questions. Chairman Mao wrote in his own handwriting "With you in charge, I'm at ease," which expressed his boundless trust in Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. After the death of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, in order to carry out Chairman Mao's behests and defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, promptly made the wise decisions on the establishment of a memorial hall for Chairman Mao and on the publication of the Selected Works of Mao Tsetung and preparations for the publication of the Collected Works of Mao Tsetung, and exposed the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party "gang of four." All this demonstrates still more the noble qualities, outstanding ability and revolutionary boldness and great far-sightedness of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as leader of our Party. It further proves that the decision Chairman Mao made before his death was extremely wise, that Chairman Mao's cause has a worthy successor and that our great socialist motherland has an infinitely bright future.

A major point in practically every struggle between the two lines in the history of our Party has been the struggle waged by the proletariat to defend the status of its Party leader against the plots of bourgeois conspirators and careerists to usurp the supreme leadership of the Party. Such were the soul-stirring struggles against the setting up of a bogus central committee by Chang Kuo-t'ao, against the counter-revolutionary "Outline of Project '571'" of Lin Piao, and against the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power! The essence of these struggles is whether to uphold the correct Marxist-Leninist line, persist in making revolution, persevere in going forward and lead China to a bright future or to push an erroneous opportunist and revisionist line, oppose the revolution, cling to regression and drag China down into darkness. In a word, it is whether to insist on being red or being black. A great victory has been won in the current struggle: The proletariat has once again defeated the bourgeoisie, socialism has once again triumphed over capitalism and Marxism has once again prevailed over revisionism. We have boundless trust in the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by the Party's leader Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and have full confidence in the prospects of future struggles.

Love for our Party, our state, our army and our people finds concentrated expression in love for our leader. Every Communist Party member and every revolutionary fighter should with a high level of consciousness love, support and defend the leader of our Party. Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's becoming the leader of our Party conforms to the needs of the revolution and is an inevitable historical outcome; it is the common aspiration of hundreds of millions of Chinese people and a reliable guarantee that our Party and state will continue to advance triumphantly along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. We will resolutely fight to the end against anyone who dares to oppose Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. "We must resolutely take our own road, defend our Party's work ability, and defend Party leaders." (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 25, p. 251)

(Originally carried in Chieh-fang-chün Pao of October 29, 1976.)

* * *

Adhere to "Three Dos and Three Don'ts" and Thoroughly Smash the "Gang of Four"

by

the Party Branch of Tachai Brigade

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 11, Nov. 1, 1976)

The Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, carrying out Chairman Mao's behests and representing the fundamental interests and common aspirations of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, resolutely exposed with the boldness and vision of the proletariat, the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, Chiang Ch'ing and Yao Wen-yüan. It crushed with one blow their criminal conspiracies to betray Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and usurp Party and state power. A hidden danger, a potential disaster, was thus eliminated within the Party. This is a cause for general rejoicing throughout the land, a happy event for the Party, the army and the people. The news brought great joy to all commune members of Tachai and received their general approval!

Over the past ten years and more, under the leadership of the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, our Party has smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and won great victories in the proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify the style of work, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. However, "though trees desire quiet, the wind will not stop," and class struggle is independent of man's will. The bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, irreconciled to their defeat, still attack and bounce back, hoping some day to destroy our Party. The Chinese Communist Party, founded, tempered and nurtured by Chairman Mao himself, is a party that has grown in the course of struggles against the Right and "Left" opportunist lines in the Party, a great, glorious and correct party, a party with worthy successors, vitality and a bright future. Both Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao were unable to crush our Party, and the "gang of four," motivated by self-interests, also wanted to destroy our Party but could only come to grief.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" is composed of big poisonous snakes entrenched in our Party, four big tyrants riding on the backs of the Chinese people, and four most insidious and vicious conspirators and careerists who wormed their way into the Party Central Committee. They constitute an anti-Party clique that has perpetrated towering crimes against the country and the people. They are typical representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party, unrepentant capitalist roaders still on the capitalist road. They completely betrayed Chairman Mao's great teaching "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire," waving a red flag to oppose the red flag, dressing themselves up as "meritorious officials of the great cultural revolution," "representatives of the correct line" and "authorities on Marxist-Leninist theories," while doing every evil thing on earth. It is precisely they who unscrupulously tampered with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman

Mao's directives, opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and practiced revisionism under the signboard of Marxism. It is they who set up a faction for private ends, established their own system, and tried by all ways and means to split the Party, the army and the masses, frantically carrying out sectarian activities to usurp Party and state power. It is precisely they who intrigued and conspired in a big way, stirred up trouble, obeyed orders publicly but defied them secretly, did not mean what they said, poked their noses into everything everywhere to create confusion, provoked armed struggles, and sabotaged Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, the great proletarian cultural revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is precisely they who, using the mass media in their hands, distorted facts, confused right and wrong, fabricated rumors to hoodwink the masses and confuse people's thinking, and churned out counter-revolutionary public opinion for usurpation of Party and state power. It is they who worshipped things foreign, fawned on foreigners, maintained illicit foreign relations, practiced capitulationism and national betrayal on a large scale, and sold out vital Party secrets, the interests of the revolution and the socialist new China founded by Chairman Mao. It is they who lorded it over others, acted arrogantly, did whatever they liked, and fabricated accusations against good people, operating "iron and steel mills" and "label making plants" in a big way. It was as if those who followed them would prosper and those who ran against them perish. They exercised bourgeois dictatorship over cadres and the masses. They fanned up anarchism, trumpeted bourgeois "liberty" and "democracy," undermined proletarian revolutionary discipline and Party democratic centralism, and disrupted Party centralized leadership. While supporting wicked people, corrupting the youth, and harboring renegades and spies, they put capitalist roaders in key positions to wreck the principle set by Chairman Mao of three-in-one combination of the old, middle-aged and young in a vain attempt to dissolve the leading groups at various levels. They openly defied Chairman Mao's policy of grasping revolution and promoting production, vigorously practiced economism, caused work and production to be stopped, fanned up capitalism, sabotaged the movements for learning from Tach'ing in industry and Tachai in agriculture, and undermined the socialist revolution and socialist construction. They stopped at nothing in extending bourgeois rights and acted criminally, squandering money, turning socialist property into their own, and sucking the blood of the working people to fatten themselves. What is particularly abhorring is that this "gang of four" even had the audacity to frenziedly torment and humiliate our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao and to attack and persecute our respected and beloved Premier Chou. Their crimes are too numerous to be enumerated. The whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country hate the "gang of four" more than anything else.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" is the sworn enemy of Tachai. Over the years Tachai has advanced amid struggles against the "gang of four." This anti-Party clique entirely inherited the mantles of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and picked up the axes the latter used in chopping down the red banners. With ten times hatred and a hundred times frenzy, they ruthlessly trampled Tachai underfoot and dealt it brutal blows. Our hatred for them takes a long time to tell like the water of the Yangtze which flows ceaselessly. We have had enough of them.

Tachai has grown up under Chairman Mao's concern and care, in the course of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Tachai's red banner was raised personally by Chairman Mao. For a long time it has acted according to Chairman Mao's directives diligently and honestly, upholding class struggle as the key link, adhering to the Party's basic line, keeping to the socialist road, and ever alert lest it might let Chairman Mao down. No matter how complicated the situation and how hard the struggle, we have neither wavered nor yielded nor ever departed from the revolutionary road charted by Chairman Mao. But the "gang of four" resorted to all tricks and evil things in trying to subdue and crush Tachai. When still at the early stages of the great proletarian cultural revolution, they instigated and directed some people to carry out a barefaced bourgeois encirclement and suppression campaign against us. Keeping to the "16-Point Decisions," Tachai firmly stuck to the general orientation of struggle against capitalist roaders as Chairman Mao instructed. It adhered to Chairman Mao's directive "struggle should be conducted by civil means, not by violence," and firmly followed the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production." Yet they assailed us for being "impervious," "cool" and "beyond understanding." They even angrily cursed us for being a "Wall Street." When we resisted their attack and continued to forge ahead along the direction indicated by Chairman Mao, they again openly gathered some people to compile black "material" against our cadres, Communist Party members and poor and lower-middle peasants in an attempt to brand our cadres as counter-revolutionaries and destroy Tachai's red banner raised by Chairman Mao. The counter-revolutionary element Wang Hung-wen is the chief culprit who personally took a hand in this plot. After the scheme of the anti-Party clique headed by the big conspirator and big careerist Lin Piao to usurp Party and state power fell through, the "gang of four," frightened as a stray dog and a fish that narrowly escaped the net, still tried to cripple Tachai, chop down its banner, attack and vilify it for "disobeying Party leadership" and "pursuing its own land policy," and continued to cook up charges against it. Following Chairman Mao's teachings, Tachai continued to strengthen all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and imposed necessary restrictions on bourgeois rights. What was wrong about that? Yet it offended the "gang of four." They came out, conducted what they called "investigations" and compiled what they called "material" with which to criticize Tachai's experience of perseveringly continuing the revolution under the dictatorship ofthe proletariat.

Tachai adheres to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and firmly keeps to the socialist road. No one can make us go back. Whatever means the "gang of four" might use to attack, suppress and persecute us, we decided to fight to the end. Last year, the anti-Party element Chiang Ch'ing took advantage of the holding of the National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture and came to Tachai. Suddenly changing her attitude, she dressed herself up as "the Goddess of Mercy" who "cared for" Tachai, while her real purpose was to take control of Tachai. When we discerned her criminal plot and resolutely resisted and struggled against it, the "gang of four," the evil doers and bullies, became still more ruthless in an effort to ruin Tachai. In September this year, the anti-Party element Chiang Ch'ing, ignoring the serious illness of great leader and teacher Chairman Mao, led 40-50 persons in a surprise raid on Tachai when they viciously attacked Tachai, threatening to flatten Tiger Head Mountain and swallow up the whole of Tachai at one gulp.

The arrival of the anti-Party element Chiang Ch'ing in Tachai enabled us poor and lower-middle peasants to see the true features of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique in opposing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and plotting to usurp Party and state power and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was this fanatic anti-Party element, Chiang Ch'ing, who in Tachai perpetrated criminal deeds to split the Party Central Committee. In the name of criticizing Water Margin, she tampered with Chairman Mao's great directive, which said "The merit of the book Water Margin lies precisely in the portrayal of capitulation; it serves as teaching material by negative example to help all people recognize capitulationists," and twisted it to mean that "the crucial point of Water Margin is to put Ch'ao Kai in the air" Behind the back of the Party Central Committee and also behind the backs of the Tachai Party Branch and the poor and lower-middle peasants, she carried out conspiratorial activities to attack and slander the central leading comrades and to eulogize herself. What is more frantic, she forbade us to sing The East Is Red and the children to wear the red scarf. Moreover, she spread the reactionary view that "in future women must hold power" so as to create counter-revolutionary public opinion for her to usurp Party and state power. She could not be more reactionary and arrogant!

In front of Tachai's poor and lower-middle peasants, the anti-Party element Chiang Ch'ing led a bourgeois life of luxury, being a new bourgeois element in the true sense of the word. When this anti-Party element, who called herself "standard-bearer of the revolution in literature and art," came to Tachai, she had a truckload of films brought with her, so she could enjoy imported obscene films every night. When she went to the hills, even for a distance of several hundred meters, she insisted on riding on a horse or driving in a car, with several dozen persons waiting on her. She took pictures everywhere, and spent as much as 2,000-3,000 yuan for this purpose. The anti-Party element Chiang Ch'ing had deep seated hatred for the great leader Chairman Mao. On September 5, the central authorities urgently asked her to return to Peking at once, and she knew that Chairman Mao was critically ill. Yet she remained indifferent as if nothing had happened, laughing joking and playing poker as usual. When her entourage spent two whole hours loading her things onto a truck and asked her to leave, she still pretended as if nothing had happened and went on playing poker for a half hour before getting up unhurriedly. All this fully demonstrated that the "gang of four" consists of a bunch of typical representatives of the Party bourgeoisie sucking the blood of the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants.

The anti-Party element Chiang Ch'ing hated Tachai more than anything. In September this year, the moment she arrived in Tachai, she arrogantly declared: "What am I here for? To wage struggle!" She negated everything, distorted facts, fabricated lies, and attacked us for carrying out so-called revisionist directives, cursing Tachai for "having the guts" to "show no respect for me, Chiang Ch'ing." She said this was a "political question," and slandered Tachai for being "conceited and complacent" and "politically backward." In her search for "reasons" to negate and attack Tachai, she was blind to the many achievements Tachai made in changing nature, to the excellent growth of the crops. When she was taken to the hills, she said she had fallen into "a trap." Yet standing in the field she looked for a small ear under the main era of a corn stem and used it to attack and pick on us. She also threatened to have 600 mow of corn destroyed. She even declared time and again that she would find out the "backstage boss" of Tachai who disobeyed her, and asked us to give her a "self-examination." By doing so, she tried to axe Tachai's

red banner. This fully reveals the counter-revolutionary features of the "gang of four" in opposing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Tachai's Communist Party members and poor and lower-middle peasants, who have gone through the struggle between the two lines, are the hard bones of the revolution. In face of rabid attacks by this anti-Party element Chiang Ch'ing, and in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, we once again displayed the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither heaven nor earth, nor class enemies, nor even this huge monster--the anti-Party element Chiang Ch'ing, and carried out a tit-for-tat struggle against her. She tried to control Tachai, but we were not deceived. We did not listen to her; we did not do what she wanted us to do. We did not prettify her, nor did we become her drummers. The moment she set foot on Tachai's soil, there was no welcoming party for her. we snubbed her from the very beginning. We rejected her anti-Party remarks; we did not believe or pass them on. Nor did we keep the "war-preparedness trenches" she asked her entourage to dig, so she could photograph them. The moment she left, we filled them up and built a pigsty there. When she denounced us for carrying out revisionist instructions and being politically backward and asked us to make "self-examination," we firmly rejected the censure by this anti-Party element. Comrade Kuo Feng-lien sternly refuted her then and there, saying: "Tachai has always fought against revisionism. Tachai always listens modestly to good-intentioned criticism of its shortcomings in work and is serious about correcting them. But we absolutely refuse to accept the idea that we carry out revisionist directives."

Today, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique has been exposed in broad daylight. In this struggle, we have not let down Chairman Mao's expectations, the Party's concern, and the support of the people of the whole country. As we recall these past years of struggle, we Communist Party members and poor and lower-middle peasants in Tachai are really filled with bitter hatred and anger for this "gang of four." The time has come to make a thorough reckoning with the crimes of this anti-Party clique in usurping Party and state power and bringing disasters to the country and the people, and to say what all Communist Party members and poor and lower-middle peasants in Tachai have wanted to say. In such a big and happy event, how can we not raise our hands and firmly voice our support for the wise decisions of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng with tears in our eyes? How can we not join the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country in warmly hailing and celebrating this victory?

The "gang of four" has been ferreted out, and their plot to usurp Party and state power has been smashed. This is a great practice of Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a great victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution and a great victory for Mao Tsetung Thought. The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique consists of typical representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party, unrepentant capitalist roaders still on the capitalist road. The struggle which smashed the "gang of four" helps us further understand how wise and great Chairman Mao's scientific thesis is, namely, the bourgeoisie is "right in the Communist Party" and "the capitalist roaders are still on

the capitalist road." This is of tremendous immediate importance and far-reaching historical significance for us to adhere to the Party's basic line and policies formulated by Chairman Mao for the entire historical period of socialism, to combat and prevent revisionism and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat! The victory of the struggle once more shows that the Chinese Communist Party founded by Chairman Mao is worthy of being called a politically mature Marxist-Leninist party, that it is not easy to destroy our Party, and that our Party has a bright future.

"Fighting will go on." Although the plot of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power has been smashed, we are aware that classes and class struggle still exist, that the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party did not resign themselves to their defeat yesterday and will not do so today but will constantly seek to make a comeback. Tachai's Communist Party members and poor and lower-middle peasants, tested and tempered in struggle, are determined to carry out Chairman Mao's behests, rally most closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, hold high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and adhere to the three basic principles "P actice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." We are determined to struggle against the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique to the end, thoroughly smash and bury it. In the course of the struggle, we will seriously study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, continue to enhance our ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism, and carry the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao through to the end!

* * *

Criticize the "Gang of Four" Relentlessly, Win Victories in Both Revolution and Production

by

Tach'ing Party Committee

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 11, Nov. 1, 1976)

When the extraordinarily good news of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng's becoming Chairman of the Party Central Committee and of its Military Commission and the smashing of the schemes of the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, Chiang Ch'ing and Yao Wen-yuan to usurp Party and state power reached Tach'ing, the oilfield stretching a thousand li became a scene of festivity. Excited and elated beyond description, the 500,000 armymen and civilians, singing and dancing and beating gongs and drums, most warmly congratulated our Party on again having its own leader in Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, and most heartily hailed the great victory in smashing the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique.

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng is the successor personally chosen by great leader Chairman Mao. Before his death Chairman Mao wrote to Comrade Hua Kuo-feng: "With you in charge, I'm at ease," which expressed Chairman Mao's boundless faith in Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as well as the aspiration of the people in their hundreds of millions. We, of the working class, are most obedient to Chairman Mao and most resolute in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In the fierce struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, the P r'y Central Committee made the wise decision to appoint Comrade Hua Kuo-feng Chairman of the Party Central Committee and of its Military Commission, thus carrying out the arrangements made by great leader Chairman Mao before his death and naming a successor to the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao. We wholeheartedly support and endorse this decision. We the workers of Tach'ing have boundless faith in the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and are determined to obey its orders in all our actions. We vow to defend with our blood and lives the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng. Whoever dares to oppose the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, we will resolutely fight him to the finish.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" is the sworn enemy of the working class. They are foes with whom we shall never reconcile. Betraying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, they practiced revisionism and splits, intrigued and conspired. Opposing Chairman Mao's great instructions, interfering with his revolutionary line and undermining his strategic plan, they did everything bad and committed towering crimes. We workers of Tach'ing recognized and hated them for what they really are long ago. We remember everything they did. Carrying out Chairman Mao's behests, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng smashed with one blow the scheme of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power, thus saving the revolution and the Party. The resolute measure it took was most timely, very wise and correct. It expressed what the people of all nationalities throughout the country had long ago wanted to express and did what they had long ago earnestly demanded to do; it represented the fundamental

interests and common aspirations of the proletariat and the working people and insured that our Party and state will continue their triumphant advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" is a "gang of restorationists" who committed heinous crimes. They frenziedly persecuted our great leader Chairman Mao and our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou. They opposed the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and attempted to usurp the supreme power of the Party and state. They wantonly tampered with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's directives and practiced revisionism under the signboard of Marxism. They opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on a series of domestic and international problems and vainly sought to change the proletarian nature of our Party radically, alter the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism and restore capitalism. We the workers of Tach'ing had bitter hatred for this sinister counter-revolutionary gang long ago and waged a tit-for-tat struggle against them. In 1974, behind the backs of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, they stirred up trouble and shot poisonous arrows everywhere, and sabotaged the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. Instead of following them, we workers of Tach'ing overcame all sorts of interference, conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's important instructions and strengthened the centralized leadership of the Party. With common hatred for the enemies, thousands upon thousands of us penetratingly criticized Lin Piao and Confucius, raised our political consciousness, strengthened our revolutionary unity, and won a great battle in the two-line struggle. In 1975, they madly went against Chairman Mao's important instructions on the question of theory, openly submitted that empiricism was the main danger, and attempted to sabotage the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship and change the Party's basic line. Moreover, they used the big club of anti-empiricism to strike at the revolutionary cadres. Seeing through their insidious motives, we workers of Tach'ing firmly acted according to Chairman Mao's instructions and gave first priority to the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship. We attached major importance to the Party's basic line, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restriction of bourgeois rights, carried out a large-scale investigation of the current situation of class and line struggles throughout the oilfield, and held a general debate on "whether Tach'ing has the danger of turning revisionist." As a result, we further raised our consciousness of combating and preventing revisionism and of continuing the revolution and fulfilled the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in basic units. In 1976, during the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, they went their own way and created confusion to change the general orientation of struggle. They engaged in conspiracies and practiced splits. Resolutely struggling against them, we workers of Tach'ing seriously acted according to the plan of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, firmly adhered to the general orientation of struggle, vigorously studied Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, penetratingly criticized Teng Hsiao-p'ing, repulsed the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and consolidated and developed the victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Over the past years, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we Tach'ing workers have persisted in taking class struggle as the key link, carried

forward the glorious tradition of developing according to "On Contradiction" and "On Practice," waged one battle after another against the plot of the bourgeoisie inside the Party to restore capitalism, and scored one victory after another. The course of events in the struggle has enabled us to understand that without struggling against the bourgeoisie inside the Party, we cannot uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and that without smashing the "gang of four," we cannot persevere in continuing the revolution.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" is a vicious and ferocious "gang of conspirators." They formed a sect, established their own system, operated as a unit, put themselves above Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and carried out criminal activities to split the Party. They went all out to create counter-revolutionary public opinion, confused right and wrong, created rumors, fabricated accusations and labeled everybody at will in an attempt to topple a large group of leading Party, government and army comrades at central and local levels so as to seize Party and state power. They engaged in conspiracies and intrigues on a mass scale, poked their noses everywhere to stir up trouble, instigated armed fights, incited one section of the masses to struggle against another and persecuted the revolutionary cadres, thus causing unrest to the Party, the country and the people and making it impossible for revolution and production to be carried out in a normal way. This sinister counter-revolutionary gang did every evil thing that class enemies at home and abroad wanted but could not do. For a long time, they regarded Tach'ing, a red banner personally raised by Chairman Mao, as a thorn in their side. They used various vicious means in an attempt to brand as "capitalist roaders" the vast numbers of revolutionary cadres who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, to brand as "black pace-setters" advanced model characters in grasping revolution and promoting production, and to vilify as "theory of productive forces" Tach'ing's basic experience and tried by hook and by crook to chop down the red banner of Tach'ing and sabotage the mass movement to "learn from Tach'ing in industry." We Tach'ing workers, far from being frightened by their counter-revolutionary arrogance, resisted this adverse current with dauntless heroism. For 16 years since the oil campaign and particularly since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the mass movement to study the Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works has developed in a sustained manner throughout the oilfield, with new upsurges whipped up continually and efforts directed toward having a good grasp of Marxism and unceasingly enhancing our ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism. Firmly grasping the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the principal contradiction during the period of socialism, the workers and cadres have persistently struggled against the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, against revisionism and against capitalist roaders. The leading cadres at various levels, acting according to the three basic principles of "three dos and three don'ts," have consciously upheld the unity and unification of the Party, adhered to established rules, boldly made self-criticism, accepted the supervision of workers, and consciously restricted bourgeois rights. Tach'ing's revolutionary tradition and fine style of work have been formed and developed amid the struggle between the two classes and the two lines, fully embodying the revolutionary character of proletarian fighters who join the Party for the public interest and who are open and aboveboard. This too is forceful criticism of this bunch of bourgeois careerists and conspirators--Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao. We are determined to temper in struggle

Party organizations at various levels into vigorous vanguard organizations capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against class enemies, to build the working-class contingent into an iron-man contingent that persistently combats and prevents revisionism, and to run our enterprise as a great school of Mao Tsetung Thought and a strong position for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The worker comrades say rightly: Rumors and slanders by the "gang of four" cannot shade the radiance of the red banner of Tach'ing. The evil wind stirred up by the "gang of four" cannot budge even a blade of grass in Tach'ing. The Tach'ing Oilfield is advancing triumphantly amid struggle.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" is a "harmful gang" causing disasters to the country and the people. First, they don't know how to work in industry; second, they don't know how to farm; third, they don't know how to fight a war; and fourth, they do nothing practical. Truth is not in their hands and the masses do not rally around them. They did nothing but play with their pens, travelled everywhere to talk people into following them, and spread rumors to confuse people. They worshipped things foreign, fawned on foreigners and maintained illicit foreign relations; they sabotaged the policy of independence and self-reliance, and engaged in capitulationist and traitorous activities on a large scale. They undermined the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production" and wantonly distorted the relationship between revolution and production, alternately disrupting production by sabotaging revolution and sabotaging revolution by disrupting production. By so doing, they vainly attempted to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and ruin the socialist economic base. This counter-revolutionary black gang lorded it over others and gave off bourgeois odor, consistently seeking and extending bourgeois rights, sucking the blood of the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants, and placing themselves in a position sharply antagonistic to that of the people. The Tach'ing workers have long hated the ugly words and deeds of this gang of black sheep. The cadres and masses, keeping firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teaching on "self-reliance" and "hard struggle," stopped the evil wind stirred up by the "gang of four," repudiated the slavish comprador philosophy, smashed superstitions, emancipated their minds, and persistently kept their own road in developing industry. In the early days of the oil campaign, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique tore up the contracts and withdrew its experts in an attempt to strangle us. Wholeheartedly relying on the working class, displaying the spirit of revolution plus perspiration and relying on our own strength, equipment and techniques, we built a big oilfield in 3 years, threw away the "backward in oil" label, and put an end to China's import of "foreign oil." For the past decade and more, we have persistently put politics in command, launched vigorous mass movements, consciously restricted bourgeois rights, and brought into full play the wisdom and initiative of the worker masses. We have thus achieved steady leaps in production and construction and realized long-term, stable and high output of crude oil. In terms of crude oil production, one Tach'ing today equals to six Tach'ings before the great cultural revolution. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, a result of pursuing the policy of independence and self-reliance and also a result of our struggle against the "gang of four" who undermined our efforts to "grasp revolution and promote production," negated reliance on the working class and engaged on a large scale capitulationist and traitorous activities.

Our struggle against the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" is a life-and-death struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. This soul-stirring class struggle has made us further understand Chairman Mao's scientific thesis that the bourgeoisie "is right in the Communist Party" and "the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." It has made us further grasp Chairman Mao's three basic principles--"Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." These basic principles are criteria for distingushing between correct and erroneous lines and sharp weapons for detecting the bourgeoisie inside the Party. Wang Hung-wen, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, Chiang Ch'ing and Yao Wen-yuan are bourgeois careerists and conspirators who openly betrayed the three basic principles. They are typical representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party, unrepentant capitalist roaders still on the capitalist road. The line they pursued is a counter-revolutionary revisionist line, an ultra-Right line. We Tach'ing workers have the revolutionary tradition of resolutely struggling against revisionism, the heroic spirit of carrying the struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party through to the end, and firm confidence in winning every battle we fight. We are determined to thoroughly expose and criticize the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique and bury it completely!

Chairman Mao taught us: "Without struggle, there will be no progress" and "can 800 million people manage without struggle?!" Tach'ing emerged from struggle, which must still be depended on if we are to continue to build and develop Tach'ing. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and along with the people of all nationalities throughout the country, we are determine to take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are determined to learn from Lu Hsün's revolutionary spirit of being forever on the offensive, carry our struggle against the counter-revolutionary "gang of four" through to the end, and thoroughly settle accounts with all their crimes. We will continue to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing, repulse the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, support new socialist things enthusiastically, and consolidate and develop the gains of the great cultural revolution.
We will whip up a new upsurge of studying Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and a new upsurge of grasping revolution and promoting production, win fresh victories in both revolution and production, and with concrete action celebrate our Party's historic great victory.

* * *

Vow to Defend to the Death the Party Central Committee Headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng

by

Party Branch of Special Merit 6th Company of Certain Unit of Peking PLA Units

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 11, Nov. 1, 1976)

The red radio waves transmitted the extraordinarily good news of the appointment of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as Chairman of the Party Central Committee and Chairman of the Military Commission and the crushing by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng of conspiracies of the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, Chiang Ch'ing and Yao Wen-yuan to usurp Party and state power. All commanding officers and fighters of our company guarding the northern border of the motherland are greatly encouraged and jubilant. The barracks and outposts are bustling with excitement. Both the cadres and fighters of our company, their hearts turning to Peking, most heartily support the Party Central Committee's decision on appointing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng its chairman and chairman of the Military Commission. They most firmly support the resolute measures taken by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng against the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique, and most enthusiastically acclaim this great historic victory won by our Party in crushing the conspiracies of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power. The elimination of the "four pests" has indeed given much satisfaction to the Party, the army and the people!

The great leader and teacher Chairman Mao repeatedly pointed out: "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." These three basic principles incisively sum up the historical experience of the two-line struggle within the Party; they are important criteria for distinguishing the correct line from the wrong line and real Marxism from alleged Marxism, and are a sharp weapon with which to discern and vanquish the bourgeoisie inside the Party. The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique, totally betraying the basic principles of "three dos and three don'ts" advanced by Chairman Mao, obstinately pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line ideologically, politically and organizationally. Wantonly tampering with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, they opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on a series of domestic and international problems and practiced revisionism under the signboard of Marxism. They formed a "gang of four," placed themselves above Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, and established their own system inside the Party. They went their own way, lorded it over others, did as they wished, undermined the unity and unification of the Party, and frantically engaged in sectarian activities to split the Party. They poked their nose into everything everywhere to stir up trouble, spread rumors, fabricated accusations against others and attempted to topple a large group of leading party, government and army comrades at central and local levels. They are a gang of out-and-out conspirators and careerists of the Khrushchev type. They worshiped things foreign and fawned on foreigners, maintained illicit relations with foreign countries, and sold out vital Party and state secrets.

They are capitulationists and traitors in the full sense of the word. The line pursued by the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique is an ultra-Right line, the essence of which is outright betrayal of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought--internally, changing the proletarian nature of our Party, subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism in our country and, externally, renouncing the principles of proletarian internationalism and capitulating to imperialism. Crushing the criminal plots of the "gang of four" to usurp Party and state power is of tremendous immediate importance and far-reaching historical significance in combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing the restoration of capitalism and building socialism in our country.

Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao have long ago formed a "gang of four" to engage in sectarian activities to split the Party. Perceiving this, the great leader Chairman Mao before his death had severely criticized and patiently educated the "gang of four" many times. But, driven by their reactionary class nature, they turned a deaf ear to Chairman Mao and instead, obstinately held on to their mistakes and went further and further down the anti-Party path. Both while Chairman Mao was seriously ill and after his death, the Wang Chang-Chiang-Yao gang thought their time had come and wantonly accelerated their counter-revolutionary paces. Their attacks on the Party became more rampant. They could not wait to seize the supreme power of the Party and state. At this critical moment of the Chinese revolution, at this crucial historical juncture marked by the fierce struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, representing the fundamental interests and common aspirations of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, promptly adopted resolute measures and crushed with one blow the conspiracies of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique to usurp Party and state power, thereby saving the revolution and the Party and winning a great victory of decisive significance in the proletariat's counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie. The course of events in the struggle fully shows that Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, whom the great leader Chairman Mao personally selected to be his successor, and the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, faithfully carrying out Chairman Mao's behests and identifying themselves with the hundreds of millions of soldiers and civilians throughout the country, have won boundless trust and wholehearted affection of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. That our Party again has its own leader in Chairman Hua Kuo-feng has cheered and inspired us and made us increase our confidence by a hundred-fold.

Chairman Mao pointed out incisively: "According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power." ("Problems of War and Strategy") The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a people's army founded and nurtured by Chairman Mao himself and a strong pillar of proletarian dictatorship. Taking the PLA as their major obstacle to usurp Party and state power, the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique mortally feared and bitterly hated the people's army and tried their utmost to vilify and undermine it. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the anti-Party careerist Chiang Ch'ing went to the army and interfered with it. Behind the backs of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, many times she had materials /instructions/ delivered in her own name to shift the general orientation of struggle and undermine the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. Last year, not long after the start of the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, the anti-Party careerist

Chang Ch'un-ch'iao openly preached in the army that empiricism was the current main danger in opposition to the thesis set forth by Chairman Mao long ago that revisionism was the main danger and to Chairman Mao's instructions on studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship and combating and preventing revisionism. By so doing, he attempted to use the big club of anti-empiricism to topple a large group of responsible party, government and army comrades at central and local levels. They /the gang/ desperately opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian line in army-building, and tried their utmost to negate our army's revolutionary tradition, sabotage army and militia building and undermine unity inside and outside the army in a futile attempt to disrupt the army and destroy our "great wall." The Chinese People's Liberation Army, long educated by Chairman Mao, saw through and resented the perverted acts of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique long ago. Whoever opposes great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, we will fight him to the finish. To shake a mountain is easy, but to shake the Liberation Army is difficult. The "gang of four" merely indulged in wishful thinking when it attempted to disrupt the army and usurp Party and state power! This gang appears truculent, baring its fangs and opening its claws, calling itself the "proletarian iron and steel company." In reality, it is no more than a tiny handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists sucking the blood of workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, betraying the proletarian revolutionary cause, deviating from the fundamental interests of the Party and people, and offending the vast masses of people. They have lost all support of the Party, the army and the people, doomed to inevitable and shameful defeat.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is an armed body carrying out the political tasks of revolution. Opposing aggression from abroad and restoration at home is the glorious task of a people's army throughout the historical period of socialism. Our company is one which won combat merit in the War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea. In 1951, great leader Chairman Mao directed us to cross the Yalu River heroically to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Korean people in striking at the US aggressors and the reactionary forces of Syngman Rhee. In a battle to hold the 6.7 Height, the commanding officers and men of our company, ignoring repeated bombings by enemy planes, fought a bloody 57-hour battle with rifles and hand grenades against an enemy force several times larger than we were. We successively beat back 17 attacks by the enemy, wiped out more than 400 enemy troops, and held our position. For this victory, our company performed collective special merit and was given the honorable title "Brave and Indomitable Company of Steel, Unshaken Like Mount T'ai in Defense." In our current struggle against the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, Chiang Ch'ing and Yao Wen-yuan, all commanding officers and fighters of our company unanimously pledge to rally most closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, obey the command of the Party Central Committee in all actions, and fight wherever the Party Central Committee wants us to fight. We are determined to respond to the call of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, carry out Chairman Mao's behests, and quickly whip up a new upsurge in studying Marxism-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works. We are determined to strengthen military and political training, step up preparedness against war, loudly sing the three revolutionary songs, "The Internationale," "The Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention" and "The East Is Red," and do a still better job in building our company according to Chairman Mao's

proletarian line in army-building. We are determined to carry forward our company's glorious fighting tradition and, with the heroic spirit "brave and indomitable, unshaken like Mount T'ai in defense," with our blood and lives, vow to defend to the death the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the great socialist motherland and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and advance from victory to greater victory.

* * *

What Does the Attempt of the "Gang of Four" To Suppress the Film "Pioneers" Show?

by

Hung Kuang-szu (洪广思)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 11, Nov. 1, 1976)

Nearly two years have passed since the color feature film "Pioneers" was released for showing. During this period, there has been a sharp struggle between the two classes and two lines around the film.

When the film was first shown at the beginning of 1975, it was promptly given a warm and hearty welcome by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. They praised it as a good film, a eulogy to the principle of working hard and self-reliantly for the prosperity of the country and a eulogy to the victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. But the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique tried in every possible way to find fault with the film and denounced it rudely. While investigating into why the film was made, they ordered others to write to criticize it. They branded it in all sinister ways with labels turned out by their "iron and steel plants" and "label making plants" in an attempt to finish it off with one blow. They fabricated ten "accusations" against the film, alleging that it had "serious errors both politically and artistically," that it was "too sentimental," "stereotyped" and "abstract," "about real people and events," and so forth. They ordered that no publicity should be given to the film, that no more prints should be made, and that it should not be broadcast over radio and television stations or be distributed abroad. In short, they exercised bourgeois dictatorship over the film.

At the critical moment of the struggle, the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao firmly supported the film and vehemently criticized the "gang of four." On July 25, 1975, commenting on a letter from one of the scenarists, Chairman Mao gave the clear-cut directive: "There is no big error in this film. Suggest that it be approved for distribution. Don't nit-pick. And to list as many as ten accusations against it is going too far. It hampers the adjustment of the Party's current policy on literature and art."

Chairman Mao's important directive greatly encouraged the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary literary and art workers. They loudly hailed the victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and literature and art. But the "gang of four," who claimed to be "supporting Chairman Mao" and "acting according to Chairman Mao's instructions," not only refused to publicize and implement this important directive of Chairman Mao's, but resorted to intrigues to withhold the directive and oppose it. Shortly after Chairman Mao gave this directive, Yao Wen-yuan, a member of the "gang of four," organized a sinister article entitled "Thoroughgoing Materialists are Fearless," directing the spearhead of his attack against the great leader Chairman Mao. As late as September, 1975, during the National Conference on Learning from Tachai, Chiang Ch'ing still tried to intimidate the scenarist of the film and truculently ordered him to write another letter to Chairman Mao in which, according to her, the scenarist should make a self-criticism, ask

to withdraw the first letter, suggest that the film "Pioneers" should not be distributed abroad, and express the wish to shoot a new version of "Pioneers." In so doing, Chiang Ch'ing aimed at negating Chairman Mao's directive. How mean and vicious the motive and how treacherous and hideous the means! These iron-clad facts of frantic opposition by the "gang of four" against the great leader Chairman Mao tear off their disguise of "support Chairman Mao" and "act according to Chairman Mao's instructions" and fully lay bare their counter-revolutionary features in opposing Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line and trying to undermine the proletarian revolution in literature and art.

When exposing the reactionaries who cruelly persecuted the people, Lu Hsün said: "More often than not they condemn first before collecting accusations (usually ten)"("Three Leisures: Correspondence") This is precisely what the "gang of four" did. The revolutionary sharp edge of "Pioneers" hurt their counter-revolutionary nerves, so they decided to condemn it first before collecting accusations, which were exactly ten. This bears a striking resemblance to the despicable tactics used by reactionaries against the revolutionary people, tactics that Lu Hsün exposed.

What kind of stuff are the ten "accusations" concocted against the film under the instruction of the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique? They are nothing more than confusing right and wrong, trumping up charges, being absurd and self-contradictory.

The film is a portrayal of the heroism of the Tach'ing working class in opening China's first big oilfield in the early sixties. In order to do their job well, the screenwriters went to the oilfield and conducted wide investigations among the oil workers, eating, living and working alongside them. Full of proletarian revolutionary fervor, they eulogized the red banner of Tach'ing personally planted by Chairman Mao and praised Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Through a series of exciting scenes, the film brings out in bold relief the great revolutionary heroism of the Chinese oil workers under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, their courage in the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction, against the erroneous line and against nature, and their determination to end once and for all the era when China had to depend on imported "foreign oil." When it was shown across the country over the opposition of the anti-Party clique, the film was warmly received by millions of people who saw it. The spectators said they were deeply inspired and educated by it. But the "gang of four" said that while the subject matter of the film was good, "the film failed to present it properly." They fabricated ten "accusations" against it in an attempt to finish it off with one blow. This shows that they stood in sharp antagonism with the masses of the people and were separated from them by a great difference in feelings!

The film has a clear-cut revolutionary political theme. It convincingly demonstrates: Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman, and making revolution depends on Mao Tsetung Thought. The victory of opening the oilfield was won precisely under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and it is precisely Mao Tsetung Thought that illuminates the road of heroic oil workers as pioneers. Those who have seen the film will not forget the

impressive scene showing the joy of the workers upon the arrival of Chairman Mao's "On Contradiction" and "On Practice" sent by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. Another scene shows Chou T'ing-shan, his eyes filled with tears of gratitude, studying Chairman Mao's works avidly. "Chairman Mao's works are the guarantee for our success"--these simple but ardent words of Chou T'ing-shan's reveal the tremendous inspiration Chairman Mao's works give to the oil workers. "Stars are twinkling brightly in the night sky; over the expanse of wasteland bushfires are burning red; with their hearts turned toward the Party, the oil workers look toward Peking with deep feelings." It is great Mao Tsetung Thought that enables the workers to ascertain the principal contradiction in a labyrinth of contradictions and to grasp the key link, i.e. class struggle, in the battle to open the oilfield, and thus to win one victory after another.

It is obvious that the film sings the praises of the great victory of Mao Tsetung Thought, the great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. But the "gang of four" slandered the film as "prettifying" Liu Shao-ch'i. It was an extremely reactionary slander which confuses black and white! It was a despicable trick habitually employed by the "gang of four" to fabricate accusations against others and so deliberately condemn them.

The portrayal of Chou T'ing-shan is successful. The film uses typical episodes and language gleaned from real life, the rich source for artistic creation, to depict the development of Chou T'ing-shan from a poor boy in the old society into a proletarian vanguard fighter tempered in the storms of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought. It shows his indomitable spirit as well as his wisdom in class struggle and the struggle for production, his close ties with the masses, his effective ideological and political work among the workers, and his skill in attacking class enemies. Chou T'ing-shan's image is lofty, and yet is commonplace as he breathes and shares the same fate with the worker masses. He is at once an ordinary worker and an example for the masses of workers. This is the fundamental reason why the portraiture of Chou T'ing-shan has a strong artistic appeal to and educative effect on the broad masses of the people. The people love this representative of the workers. But the "gang of four" slandered him as a "reckless man," "weak" and "untypical." This fully shows that they are the inveterate enemies of the working people, the makers of history.

There is a deeper reason behind the hatred the "gang of four" had for Chou T'ing-shan. As a steadfast proletarian revolutionary fighter in combating and preventing revisionism, Chou T'ing-shan is relentless in exposing Feng Ch'ao, a renegade who crawls out of enemy jail by selling himself to the enemy. He says: "Some Communist Party members use socialism as a signboard, but take a different road. There were such people in 1957 and in 1959, and there are still such people at present, too." Therefore, "we must be on guard particularly against those who wear red cloaks to hide the daggers in their hands." These words touched the "gang of four" to the quick. Aren't members of this gang conspirators, careerists and counter-revolutionary double-dealers who "wear red cloaks to hide the daggers in their hands"? No wonder they tried so hurriedly to suppress the film.

Does the film "Pioneers" have shortcomings? Naturally it is not perfect; it does have some weak points. But the "particularly strict demands" set by the "gang of four" on the film were not at all demands for perfection. They were used only as a pretext to suppress the film. Chiang Ch'ing, who was once lauded by the renegade and traitor Lin Piao as being "very sharp politically on questions of literature and art and really knowledgeable about art," actually knows nothing about revolutionary literature and art. To sabotage the revolution in literature and art, she resorted to idealism and metaphysics and put various taboos and restrictions on art creation in the name of "perfection." Any work of art that infringed on her regulations would be condemned to death. Such was the fate of many works of revolutionary literature and art. Just as Lu Hsün said of those pseudo-revolutionaries, "Judging by the directives of these people on criticism, anything that is not perfect and is defective is bad." "The best way for one to play safe is do nothing." They used "demands for perfection" as shackles to bind the revolutionary people hand and foot and thus to offer them as sacrifices to the reactionaries. Lu Hsün pointed out angrily: Their "perfection" was in fact "sweet poison for the revolution." ("Two Hearts: Non-revolutionary Radical Revolutionist") The "demand for perfection" by the "gang of four" is aimed at nothing other than poisoning revolutionary works of literature and art, undermining the proletarian revolutionary policy toward literature and art, and sabotaging Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in order to realize their wild ambition of usurping the Party and state power. Chairman Mao's directive concerning "Pioneers" hit them where it hurt most.

The despicable tricks employed by the "gang of four" to suppress the film are nothing new at all. Back in the 1930's, Ti Ke, namely, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, who comfortably ensconced himself in "the Foreign Concession in March" wantonly attacked progressive works of literature that reflected anti-Japanese struggles. Forty years later, the "gang of four" lurking snugly in their counter-revolutionary "cosy nest" tried by every means to suppress the film "Pioneers." This is just a repetition of their old dodge.

If it is said that when Chang Ch'un-ch'iao 40 years ago followed the "four villains," including Chou Yang, in strangling progressive works of literature, he did this in order to pursue Wang Ming's Right capitulationist line and malign Lu Hsün who upheld Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, then, in trying to strangle "Pioneers," the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four" was clearing the way for their counter-revolutionary revisionist line to usurp Party and state power and trying to turn literature and art into their instrument for capitalist restoration. For a long time, the "gang of four," Chiang Ch'ing in particular, arrogated to themselves the achievements made by the masses of literary and art workers under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and shamelessly called themselves "standard-bearers" of the revolution in literature and art. In fact, they madly opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, undermined the Party's policy on literature and art, and committed numerous crimes in this regard. Their attempt to strangle "Pioneers" is just an example. Our literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and are under the Party's leadership. But the "gang of four" attempted to turn literature and art away from Party leadership and from the correct path of serving proletarian politics, and to transform literary

and art circles into a faction dominated by their anti-Party clique and working to create counter-revolutionary public opinion for their usurpation of Party and state power. Their deeds show that they are not at all the "standard-bearers" of the revolution in literature and art, but out-and-out arch criminals who tried to sabotage the proletarian revolution in literature and art.

"Your body and name have perished, but the river will flow to eternity." Now that the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique has revealed its true features before the magic mirror of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, our socialist literature and art will thrive under the illumination of Mao Tsetung Thought. We will rally most closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, bravely pick up the "cudgel" of revolution to dispel the evil wind and black mist spread by the "gang of four" in the domain of literature and art, and fight valiantly to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies on literature and art, defend the principle of Party spirit in proletarian literature and art and insure the continuous development and thriving of socialist literature and art.

* * *

An Out-and-Out Old Capitulationist

by

Jen P'ing (任平)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 11, Nov. 1, 1976)

to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the passing away of lu hsun, the great man of letters and great thinker and revolutionary, this paper republishes the essay "the foreign concession in march" written by lu hsun six months before his death. the study of this essay by lu hsun is of tremendous immediate importance to us in understanding the current class struggle and two-line struggle and recognizing and exposing the pseudo-revolutionaries and capitulationists who sneaked into the revolutionary ranks long ago.

this essay by lu hsun is a powerful criticism of wang ming's right capitulationist line. at the end of 1935, after the chinese workers' and peasants' red army arrived in northern shensi, the great leader chairman mao, at the wayaopao meeting of the political bureau of the central committee of the chinese communist party, put forward the policy of setting up an anti-japanese national united front, which won warm response from the people of all strata throughout the country. lu hsun openly and explicitly voiced his support for the correct line of the chinese communist party and declared that he would "unconditionally join this front". at wang ming's instigation and behind lu hsun's back, the "four villains", including chou yang, dissolved the league of left-wing writers, propagated the slogan of "national defence literature", rigged up an "association of chinese writers and artists" and did their best to pursue a right capitulationist line. lu hsun not only resolutely boycotted and criticized all this, but took a clear-cut stand by putting forward the proletarian slogan "literature of the masses for the national revolutionary war". lu hsun's revolutionary stand and correct proposition aroused the discontent and hatred of the "four villains". they used many dirty tricks in an intensified all-round attack on lu hsun, who was ill at that time. in a letter to his friend, lu hsun wrote indignantly: "i have recovered after all, but still weak and not strong enough to attend to sundries; my memory is also declining. but the heroes keep dealing blows at me. in these days, an association of writers is meeting here and clamouring for national defence literature. taking warnings from previous events, i have stayed

out." and this is seen by the heroes as an act of sabotage against the vital interests of the state; they have even proclaimed my guilt at gatherings.... but, after all, china is not theirs and i, too, have the right to live in it. so i have recently written two articles in counter-attack." one of these articles was written to denounce a clown who went under the pseudonym of "ti ke".

this "ti ke" wrote a sinister article in the feature section of the "ta wan pao", a reactionary shanghai paper of that time, in which he viciously and virulently attacked lu hsun by insinuation in the name of commenting on the novel "august in the countryside". he did so because lu hsun had written a preface to the novel -- a novel which reflects the anti-japanese struggle waged by the people in northeast china under the leadership of the chinese communist party and exposes the policy of non-resistance of the kuomintang -- and warmly approved of it as having "shown a part of china as well as the whole of it, its present and future, its road to death and road to life. any reader who has a human heart will like to read it through and will benefit from it." chou yang was the first to denounce the novel, followed by "ti ke" with that sinister article in which he arbitrarily lashed at the novel from a right capitulationist stand and in the manner of a slave-driver. this "ti ke", himself staying comfortably in "the foreign concession in march" thousands of miles away from the suffering people in northeast china and completely ignorant of their struggle, nevertheless arrogantly reprimanded the novel as "not truthful as yet". he fumed that the author "should not have come back from the northeast so early", but should "learn for a long time" in northeast china and write only "after enriching himself further", and so on. this "ti ke" slandered lu hsun's enthusiastic support for progressive works of literature as something "tantamount to despatching a good writer to the grave". in addition, as he and his like used to do, "ti ke" deliberately chose an arrogant and threatening title for his sinister article: "we should make self-criticism." it is very clear that the purpose of this "criticism" was to make lu hsun submit to their right capitulationist line and to their sectarian gang, which excludes people who disagree with them, allowing only those who bow before them to survive but condemning those who resist them to destruction.

lu hsun discerned at a glance the true features of "ti ke" and his like as "beasts with human faces". he pungently pointed out: "the title sounds tough. though its writer does not say the article itself is a 'self-criticism', he has performed the task of making a 'self-criticism' that writes off

'august in the countryside'." for all "counter-revolutionaries who pretend to be revolutionaries", as a rule, tend to hide under the wings of the enemies, don the cloaks of marxism, and make use of their special capacities and conditions to carry out special counter-revolutionary activities. they cynically rebuke those within the revolutionary ranks in the face of the enemies, presenting an amiable posture of being "just and fair" but in fact acting as despicable accomplices and capitulationists. drawing blood with his sharp pen, lu hsun exposed the "good intention" of this man with the pseudonym of "ti ke" as the sinister intention of a counter-revolutionary through and through.

who is this "ti ke"? an investigation of his past record shows that he is precisely "a counter-revolutionary who pretends to be a revolutionary," a "worm" that has sneaked into the revolutionary camp. at that time, this "ti ke" was precisely one of the "heroes" who encircled and attacked lu hsun and clamoured about "the establishment of the line of national defence literature." he was a hatchet man who "took up a whip for the sole purpose of flogging others". the sinister article he wrote is an important piece of evidence of his criminal counter-revolutionary career.

lu hsun pointed out that, in creating such a fuss and raising such a hue and cry, this "ti ke" was "in effect fawning upon 'them' (meaning the kuomintang reactionaries) or disarming others on 'their' behalf." lu hsun's words, like a sharp dagger, penetrated the masks of "ti ke" and company at one blow. the truth is that he is no "revolutionary" at all, but an out-and-out old capitulationist excl. in the preface to "august in the countryside", lu hsun noted that this novel was "a hindrance" to the imperialist aggressors' "conquest of the hearts" of the chinese people, and "therefore is naturally not to be tolerated in the republic of china". lu hsun stated with certainty at the time: "this will soon be verified by facts." sure enough, soon after "august in the countryside" went off the press, this "ti ke" came out into the open and played the ignominious role of a hatchet man working desperately in the service of the kuomintang reactionaries. behind his mask of being "revolutionary", "correct" and "just and fair" are unmistakably the ugly features of a counter-revolutionary. this capitulationist who "fawned upon" the enemies and "disarmed others on 'their' behalf" forty years ago has today turned into an unrepentant capitalist-roader still adhering to the capitalist road. an accomplice of the reactionary rulers in those days, he now

practises revisionism and splittism, engages in conspiracies and forms a gang with others, working hand in glove in a vain attempt to usurp party leadership and seize state power. Look excl. has he not been consistently a "counter-revolutionary who pretends to be a revolutionary" over the past decades? such a person, after all, can in no way escape the punishment by history though he is cunning and crafty like a chameleon and ferocious and insidious like a wolf, and succeeded in camouflaging himself from the 1930's up to now, even palming himself off as a "left-winger", climbing to a high position, and wagging his tongue to deceive the public and build a reputation for himself.

"a thunderstorm burst over the earth, so a devil rose from a heap of white bones." it is not surprising that a few conspirators and careerists have emerged in the ranks of the proletariat and its vanguard in the course of acute, complex and intense class struggle and struggle between the two lines. provided we carry out chairman mao's behests, rally closely round the party central committee headed by comrade hua kuo-feng, study conscientiously and work hard to grasp the invincible weapon of marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought and fight on as lu hsun did, then any clowns of the "ti ke" type will only be nailed firmly to the pillory of history.

(Originally carried in Jen-min Jih-pao of October 21, 1976)

(Hung-ch'i's note: "Ti K'e" means Chang Ch'un-ch'iao in the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party clique.)

* * *

The Foreign Concession in March[1]

by

Lu Hsün (魯迅)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 11, Nov. 1, 1976)

In January this year, T'ien Chün (田军) published an essay, entitled "On the Darien Ship" (Ta-lien Wan-shang 大连丸上), in which he recalled how more than a year ago he and his wife luckily fled Darien, which to them was a hell.[2]---

"The following day, when we took the first glance at a cape of the green, green mountains of Tsingtao, our hearts wriggled out alive from the frozen node.

"'Oh! Fatherland!'

"We cried out as if in a dream!"

If they had returned to the "Fatherland" to be lackeys, naturally nobody would speak about them, and if they had got involved in the suppression of bandits, hardly anyone would mention them at all. Yet they chose to publish August in the Countryside,[3] which established their relations with the literary circles. In that case, better be slow "in wriggling out alive from the frozen node." In March, "someone"[4] in the Shanghai Concession already said cynically---

"T'ien Chün shouldn't have come back from the Northeast so soon!"

Who said this? Indeed, "someone." Why? Because this novel August in the Countryside was "not so real." But the message I carried was "real." An article by Mr. Ti K'e in "Weekly Literary Review,"[5] a feature section of the supplement "Torch" to the Ta Wan Pao may be cited as proof---

> "On the whole, August in the Countryside is an epic, but it is not so real, for instance, in the description of the situation after the people's revolutionary army captured a village. Someone said to me: 'T'ien Chün shouldn't have come back from the Northeast so soon.' The reason, he felt, was that T'ien Chün still needed a long time to study, and this novel would be so much better had he enriched himself further. There are quite a number of problems in skill and content, but why isn't there anyone to point them out?"

These comments naturally cannot be said to be incorrect. Suppose "someone" says that Gorki would be an even better novelist had he not given up his job of a docker so early, or that Gishe[6] would have a far brighter future with his reportage had he not fled to foreign land so early and if he

had stayed in Hitler's concentration camps. If there is anyone who argues to the contrary, then he must be mentally retarded. However, in the foreign concession in March, it is still necessary to say a few words, because we have yet fully "enriched ourselves" and averted the happy period of a mentally retarded.

At a moment like this, people could easily lose their patience. For instance, the novel written by T'ien Chün so early is nevertheless "not so real," yet when Mr. Ti K'e heard the words of "someone," he immediately endorsed them and blamed others for not coming forward to point out the "many problems," and for not "enriching themselves" before making "correct criticism". But I don't think this is wrong. If we have spears now, let us use them, and why should we wait until tanks and incendiary bombs are made or about to be made? In that case, unfortunately, T'ien Chün wouldn't make the mistake of "coming back from the Northeast so soon." It's really not easy to be firm and make your point stand.

Moreover, judging from Mr. Ti K'e's article, it seems there is no need to stay long in the Northeast to know the "truth". This Mr. "someone" and Mr. Ti K'e have probably remained in the Concession and have not returned later than T'ien Chün from the Northeast where to study, yet they know how to judge what is true. Besides, to be progressive, a writer also doesn't have to depend on "correct" criticism, because before anyone has pointed out the "many problems" in skill and content besetting August in the Countryside, Mr. Ti K'e has already asserted: "I believe someone is writing, or preparing to write, a far better work than August in the Countryside because of the readers' demand!"

At this point, tanks are coming or about to come, and we may as well break our spears first.

At this point, I should add a few words about the title of Mr. Ti K'e's article, "We Must Practice Self-Criticism".

The title sounds rather tough. Though the writer does not say that this itself is a "self-criticism," he has performed the task of making a "self-criticism" by writing off August in the Countryside. This task will not be fully relieved until a formal "self-criticism" he expects is published, and then perhaps August in the Countryside will be given a new life. For this shaking of one's head in ambiguous disapproval is more harmful to one's opponent than listing ten accusations. While accusations have to be presented in an orderly manner, ambiguous condemnation may lead one to speculate into the unknown.

Naturally, Mr. Ti K'e has a good heart in "practicing self-criticism," because "those writers belong to us." But I think at the same time we must never forget "them" outside of "us," nor must we deal with only "them" among "us." If we are to make criticism, we must criticize all, them and ourselves, and point out both good and evil. If in this literary forum

that still includes "us" and "them" we only reproach ourselves in order to show our "correctness" or impartiality, that means in effect fawning on "them" or disarming others on "their" behalf.

April 16 (1936)

Notes:

1. This article was first published in Nightingale monthly, Vol. I, No. 3, May 1936. After Lu Hsün's death, it was incorporated by Hsü Kuang-p'ing into Last Volume of Miscellaneous Essays of Semi-Concession.

2. Darien in those days was a Japanese "concession."

3. August in the Countryside, a novel written by T'ien Chün, was published in August 1935. The novel described the anti-Japanese struggle by the people in Northeast China under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party following the September 18 Incident and exposed the Kuomintang policy of non-resistance. Before its publication, Lu Hsün proof-read it and wrote a preface to it.

4. "Someone" in Ti K'e's article actually refers to Chou Yang, et al.

5. Ta Wan Pao was a reactionary paper founded in Shanghai in 1932. Its supplement "Torch" was edited by the reactionary man of letters Ts'ui Wan-ch'iu and served as an important position for the capitulationist "literature of national defense" advocated by the "four villains," including Chou Yang. "Weekly Literary Review" was a feature section of "Torch".

6. Gishe was a German writer of reportage. He came to China after the September 18 Incident and wrote Secret China and other works.

* * *

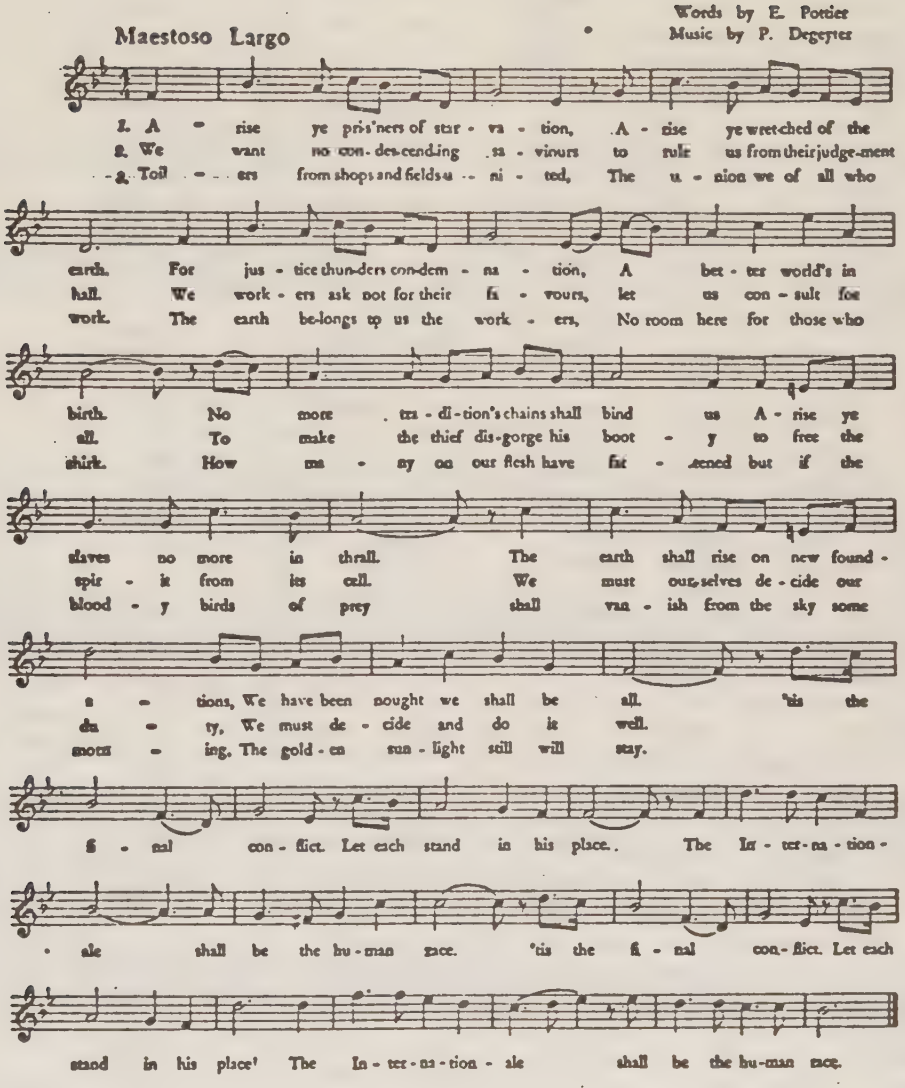
Three Revolutionary Songs

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 11, Nov. 1, 1976)

NCNA editor's note: This agency today republishes three revolutionary songs--"The Internationale," "The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention," and "The East Is Red."

Chairman Mao personally promoted and conducted the singing of "The Internationale" and "The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention," and taught us not only to sing but also explain and act on them. Singing these three revolutionary songs today will inspire the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to unite most closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, hold high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and advance triumphantly along the revolutionary course charted by Chairman Mao.

The Internationale

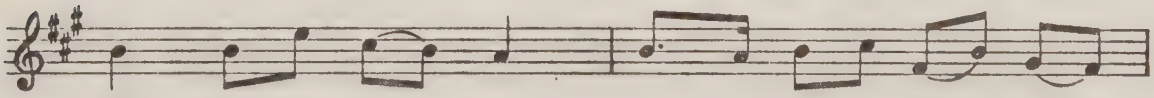

Words by E. Pottier
Music by P. Degeyter
Maestoso Largo
1. A - rise ye pris'ners of star - va - tion, A - rise ye wretched of the
2. We want no con-des-cend-ing sa - viours to rule us from their judge-ment
3. Toil - ers from shops and fields u - ni - ted, The u - nion we of all who
earth. For jus - tice thun-ders con-dem - na - tion, A bet - ter world's in
hall. We work - ers ask not for their fa - vours, let us con - sult for
work. The earth be-longs to us the work - ers, No room here for those who
birth. No more tra - di - tion's chains shall bind us A - rise ye
all. To make the thief dis-gorge his boot - y to free the
think. How ma - ny on our flesh have fat - tened but if the
slaves no more in thrall. The earth shall rise on new found -
spir - it from its cell. We must our-selves de - cide our
blood - y birds of prey shall van - ish from the sky some
a - tions, We have been nought we shall be all. 'tis the
da - ty, We must de - cide and do it well.
morn - ing, The gold - en sun - light still will stay.
fi - nal con - flict. Let each stand in his place. The In - ter - na - tion -
- ale shall be the hu - man race. 'tis the fi - nal con - flict. Let each
stand in his place! The In - ter - na - tion - ale shall be the hu - man race.

The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention

Tempo di Marcia

1. Rev- o- lu- tion'ry ar- my men must know,
2. Sec- ond, don't take a sin- gle needle or thread,
3. Dis'- pline's Three Rules we must car- ry through,
4. Sec- ond, pay fairly for what we buy,
5. Fourth- ly, if we dam- age an- y- thing,
6. Sixth, take care, don't dam- age peo- ple's crops,
7. Eighth, don't ill- treat pris- on- ers of war,
8. Know rev'- lu- tion'ry dis'- pline's ev'- ry point,

1. Dis'- pline's Three Rules, Eight Points for At- ten-tion:
2. Peo- ple will sup- port and wel- come us;
3. Eight Points for At-ten- tion we must bear in mind:
4. Buy fair, sell fair, and be reas'- na- ble;
5. Pay the full price, not a half cent less;
6. Eith- er on march or in bat- tle;
7. Don't hit, swear at or search them.
8. Peo- ple's fight- ers love the peo- ple e'er,



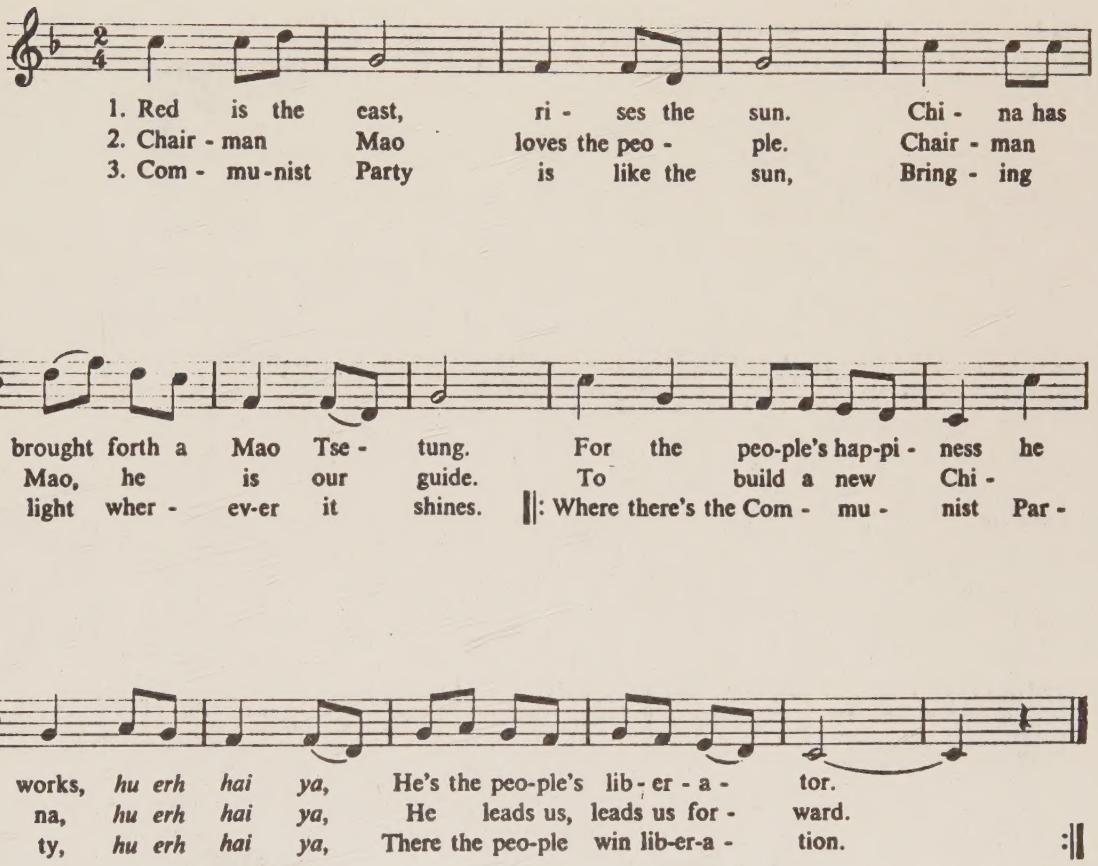
1. First, o- bey or- ders in all of our ac- tions,
2. Third- ly, turn in ev'- ry- thing we cap- ture,
3. First, we must be po- lite when we're speak-ing to the mass- es,
4. Third- ly, don't for- get to per- son'- ly re- turn,
5. Fifth, don't hit peo- ple or swear at them,
6. Sev- enth, do not take lib- er- ties with wo- men,
7. Ev'- ry- bod- y must con- scious- ly ob- serve the dis'- pline,
8. De- fend the moth- er- land and for- ev- er march a- head,

1. March in step, to win vic- to- ry;
2. Strive to light- en peo- ple's bur- dens.
3. Re-spect the peo- ple, don't be ar- ro- gant;
4. Ev'- ry sin- gle thing that we bor- row;
5. To- t'-ly o- ver- come war- lord- i- s- m;
6. Get rid of all hab- its de- ca- dent;
7. Mu- tu'lly su- per- vise, and not vio- late it.
8. Peo- ple o'er the land support and wel- come us.

The East Is Red

A northern Shensi folk song
Words by Li Yu-yuan

Moderato Maestoso


1. Red is the east, ri - ses the sun. Chi - na has
2. Chair - man Mao loves the peo - ple. Chair - man
3. Com - mu-nist Party is like the sun, Bring - ing
brought forth a Mao Tse - tung. For the peo-ple's hap-pi - ness he
Mao, he is our guide. To build a new Chi -
light wher - ev-er it shines. ||: Where there's the Com - mu - nist Par -
works, hu erh hai ya, He's the peo-ple's lib - er - a - tor.
na, hu erh hai ya, He leads us, leads us for - ward.
ty, hu erh hai ya, There the peo-ple win lib-er-a - tion. :||

The last three bars of the refrain are sung an octave higher after the third stanza.

END

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
National Technical Information Service
Springfield, Va. 22161

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PRINTED MATTER

AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COM-211

U.S.MAIL

CMP X761231 001
UNIV ILLINOIS LIB AT CHICAGO CIRCLE
LIB SERIALS SEC
BOX 8198
CHICAGO IL 60680